

THE
Church of England Man's
MEMORIAL;
OR, THE
HISTORY

OF AN
Comprehension and Toleration.

Wherein is fully prov'd, that the Admission of Sectaries into the State, must inevitably terminate in the Destruction of the Establish'd Church.

Written upon Occasion of his Majesty's late most Gracious Speech, and humbly offer'd to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

Let us remember that those who now cry out so loudly for Birthright and Liberty of Conscience, are the Spawn of that Old Crew, who caus'd these Nations to swim in Blood, sequester'd all Loyal Gentlemen and orthodox Divines of their Estates, and took away many of their Lives, tore asunder every Limb of our ancient Constitution, and murder'd the King himself. Heylin.

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THE
Church of England
MEMORIAL

OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CONFESSION AND TOLERATION

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Which is fully
written of the State, and
the History of the Toleration

of the Church of England
Written from the
History of the Church of England
and the History of the
Toleration of both
Churches of Parliament



It is a very rare book, and one of the
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LONDON
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Price Six Pence

INTRODUCTION.

I Expect no other than the Extremity of the Dissenters Rage and Spight, in this charitable Design of impartially representing their gross and dangerous Mistakes; that whilst they are eternally cavelling against some few little Things, according to their own Acknowledgement, in our Church, (such as relate only to the Externals of Habit, Gesture, or the like, a Mole or a Wart, which the comliest Bodies are seldom without) they consider not their very Being is as the monstrous Excrescence of a Wen, growing from the Catholick Body, made up and continually fed with nothing but corrupt Matter and ill digested Humours.

But not to persue so foul a Metaphor, we will take that other, more usual in Scripture, of a Building, where we shall find their prime Architect, Mr. Calvin, rais'd his Superstructure quite beside that Foundation St. Paul mentions of the Apostles and Prophets, Ephes. 2. 20. Jesus Christ himself being chief Corner-stone: For, taking his Measures negatively, that whatever had been done in the Roman Communion must by no Means be retain'd, he ran quite beyond all Christianity, without regarding that Sacred Mission, which from Christ to his Apostles was continu'd in all succeeding Ages of the Church; or those Holy Offices and Rites of Divine Worship and Sacramental Administrations, which immemorial Practice recommended: Neither were his Systems of Doctrine deliver'd as they ought, with that due Deference which in all precedent Times had been paid

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to the ancient Fathers; but on the contrary, Scripture most miserably wrested from its proper Catholick Sense, to buoy up such novel Conceits as had no Consistency with the Analogy of Faith or primitive Practice, all which being intimated with a great deal of Reserve and Caution by the foremention'd first Broacher, as fearful, doubtless, of the Event, was not only confidently propagated, but desperately improv'd by his Successors, till among us they would not admit the Creed into their Confession of Faith, nor recommend the Lord's Prayer in their Directory; however, they continu'd the Sacraments by some Body, and in such a Manner, as to eschew rather than regard Precedents, with such sinister and By Respects to Interests, Prejudice, Passion, insatiable Ambition, and Schismatical Perverseness, that they became altogether the same in the Christian Church, as the Pharisees in the Jewish; with an affected Piety, and traditional Doctrine of their own, the Gospel was made of the like no Effect by the one, as the Law by the other.

But as for those numerous Off-sets, the many equivocal Generations, which sprung from several Kinds, and follow'd upon the Presbyterian Rebellion, a great many of them regard not so much as their Admission into the Church by Baptism, either when Infants, or Adult, though as essentially requir'd by God the Son in the New Testament, as Circumcision by God the Father in the Old; and such as would seem to retain any Thing of it, have it perform'd in such a perfunctory, slight Manner, and by such perfunctory Persons too, as Christ's Commission seems to be superseded by the Party's own, or the Congregation's Call. And for the other Sacrament, 'tis the only Conscience I can observe in them of their great Unworthiness, that they care not to think or to be told of it; yet can any Thing be more express than our Saviour's Declaration, Jo. 6. 53. Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son

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Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you; which, tho' perhaps primarily spoken of his Body being actually sacrific'd upon the Cross, yet doth the Sacrament necessarily follow thereupon, in the perpetual Commemoration thereof; since therefore they chose to climb over, rather than enter in at the appointed Door; and not regard the Bread of Life, wherewith the whole Family of the Faithful hath been continually fed, and nourish'd up to the perfect Man, the Measure of the Fulness of the Stature of Christ: What a Stretch of Charity will it require, to believe such Persons Members of that mystical spiritual Body, which pay so little Deference to our Saviour's own Institution, and absolutely renounce what hath been in all Ages practis'd by the Church of the living God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth.

May it not then be own'd a reasonable and modest Proposal, that these several Parties, which have so little of Old Christianity, with that peaceable Disposition of Soul which it principally requires, should, in Return for the Liberty of their Novel Conceits, Enthusiastical Calls, and Fantastick Delusions, be restrain'd from inveighing and plotting against the legal Establishment? And that without some Restraint they will not forbear, we have had so many sad Experiences from their first Rise, that 'twas no little Surprize to see how earnest some were to have them once more try'd in the present Crisis of our new Elections; wherein, to shew themselves no Changelings, they proceed with their usual Prudence and Moderation, to asperse with the grossest Slanders and most abominable Lies, all such Persons as they suspect of Averseness to the Hypocrisy of their Occasional Conformity, with such other dark Designs, as must certainly occasion such a Stretch; and having gain'd their Point herein, which they bid very foully for, their fulsome Flatteries and feign'd Tears will become really formidable, whilst

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their Church and State Friends must expect no other Favour than what Polyphemus promis'd Ulysses, to be last devour'd.

When the Puritans found Queen Elizabeth in good earnest forbidding, as we find in Sir John Pickering's Speech, their Friends in the House to yield an Ear to their many Importunities and Clamours as formerly, they sat down in Despair, losing Ground every Day during that Reign. But finding the next more remiss, they fell to their old Work, and so poison'd the Commonalty, as never an Election pass'd without an additional Ferment of their Leaven, which sower'd too many of all Degrees, to the Extremity of Madness and Confusion, so fatally vented against Charles I. with all Persons and Things which tended to the Preservation of our ancient Establishments: Whereas could that excellent Prince have obtain'd one such Church of England House of Commons, (for among the Peers he was always sure of a Majority) as we have had these three or four last Elections, we might have been as happy as Unity, Peace, and Piety, can make any People; all which, God knows, we have been ever since far from, and so like to continue, since our many new Modellers are for ridiculing all such as enquire after the old Paths.

To shew farther, that our Dissenters are not so dreadful a Pack of People, 'till given out for such by some Persons, or Parties rather, who have farther Use to make of them, I remember King Charles the Second's first and best Parliament, (however the Factions may rail) did once, upon Occasion, move for an Enquiry, Who they were that intimidated his Majesty with the Number and Formidableness of the Fanaticks, the Dissenters; whereupon an Inquest being made, all that could evade it would not come under that Denomination; which occasion'd a very small Return. And altho' the Toleration Act hath render'd them

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them more distinguishable, and their several Herds, when united, may make a noisy Legion or two, but their Throats discharge no Bullets; and if they find the Government in earnest, neither their Tongues nor Hands dare wag. And not to let them know or feel so much, in the Judgment of that great Statesman the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, is a great Defect; for thus I find him discoursing his great Mistress, in Reference to the same Set of People: 'Tis, saith he, the Reason of all Government, when the Subject thinks the Prince doth any Thing more out of Fear than Favour; and therefore the Romans would rather abide the utmost Extremities, than by the Peoples Clamours be brought to any Conditions. And in a Letter to the same Purpose, To make them contented absolutely, I do not see how your Majesty either in Conscience will do, or in Policy may do it; since you cannot, without discontenting your faithful Subjects; and to fasten an unreconcil'd Love, with the losing a certain Love, is to build a House with the Sale of Lands, &c. For there is much more to the same Purpose, which shews with what Deliberation Things were then carry'd; how great a Regard was paid to experienc'd Principles and solid Maxims of State; and thereby those two formidable Factions, the Papists and the Puritans, equally restrain'd from their design'd Mischiefs; for though the latter did not appear so soon, yet they grew on so fast, and threatned so impudently, especially in that formidable Year 88, as if in Confederacy with the others; and were accordingly, for the Time to come, both of them alike proceeded against. The many Disturbances, which each of 'em have jointly and separately since created, speaks too much Truth, in what Monsieur De Witt told Sir William Temple, That the English had scarce ever acted with any true Interest of State since that great Queen's Time. The Art of Governing

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by Parties was not then in Fashion; for tho' there were several in the Court, yet none prevail'd so, as to turn the Ballance of Affairs; the common Good was their constant Result: Whereas there is more of Truth (than usual with him) in what Toland observes, That in some late Reigns, the whole Government was manag'd by Parties, and, which was worse, all Anti-parties to the Establishment; for first the Papists had too much Countenance, and 'twas their Commission to countenance all such as were Enemies to the Church, though no less to the Crown; for at Rome, however they flatter themselves here, if the King will not let them have all, his Party-kindness shall have no Regard; and so it is with the State Calvinist and Fanaticks too.

In Confirmation whereof, as to both Parties, Bishop Stillingfleet, in his Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation, quotes some of the Jesuit Cozens's Directions for introducing Popery into a Country; and among the rest a Letter of Advice from a great Minister at Rome to Father Young, an Englishman of the same Order, concerning the best Way of managing the Popish Interest in England, upon his Majesty's Restauration, 1660. To obstruct a Settlement of the Church, and encourage Faction, were his two principal Charges; and to traduce all such as suspect the Design, as proud and self-conceited Enemies to Peace and Moderation: Are they not such as rais'd the Odium of High-Church Properties herein? and that the Dissenters have all along, ad amussim, follow'd those Prescriptions, that great Man irrefragably proves.

But though Parties were too prevalent throughout K. Charles the II'd's whole Reign, yet to charge him as continually troubling his Head with subtile and dark Designs, must be only to continue the Thread of his Invektives against the whole Royal Family: Poor Gentleman, his Temper was quite contrary, too easy and careless, by which Means they all serv'd themselves

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Selves upon him; and most of the Troubles and Dangers he met withal, proceeded from that his Indifference. His Brother indeed troubled his Thoughts too much; but let them be so over-pois'd with Zeal, as nothing of sound Knowledge could take Place, otherwise he would never have trusted to such broken Reeds as Dissenters; who, according to our Author's Account, not only took the Liberty of their publick Meetings, but became his Parties in Office of Trust and Honour, in Corporations and elsewhere, which, saith he, was, in plain Truth, to thank him for Governing without Law, and to act by Virtue of his arbitrary Power; and how far they would have gone on, if they had not found a better Game to play, we may have Occasion to shew hereafter.

Tet the confident Controuler stays not here, but brings the Charge home to the Reign he then writ in, and tells us, from an eminent Person, that the Dissenters (which I presume he takes, in a full Latitude, for all the confiding Commonwealths Men then in Vogue) werethe Tories of the Revolution; and instances of their being almost all for a Standing Army, with some other invidious Points. To the Army he should have join'd the general Naturalization of Foreigners, to make it up. And it shews a truly generous Spirit in those Persons, which are calumniated with Mob Nothings, as Black Lists, Tackings, &c. that they do not recriminate the just Reproach of that infamous Attempt, which would have tended more to enslaving the Nation, than all that was suspected from precedent Reigns; for that a foreign was more to be dreaded than a native Force. So that of all the Severals, these more especially ought to be excluded for ever having to do, either in the Legislative or Executive Power; but when Parties are prevalent, such Tergiversators will not fail to be of that which is so.

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There is one Thing farther to be urg'd in this Matter, much ad homines, viz. A Retrospect how the Progenitors of these Parties behav'd themselves when got into Power; where we shall find them act with the like Temper and Moderation, as a Pack of Wolves to a Flock of Sheep, or a Turkish Army in a Christian Invasion: The Presbyterians could never have carry'd on their 41 Rebellion, but by excluding or frighting away the most vigorous of the Royal Party; which the Independant, with their Army of Myrmidons, retaliated in a total Exclusion of that Class; and notwithstanding their many Strugglings, carry'd on the Church and Monarchy's Ruin upon their Principles, without letting them partake either in the Booty or Power; which must much regret such haughty Aspirers. When Cromwell ap'd the King, he would have Parliaments too, but no Occasional Conformists; neither Royalists, nor his own Properties, which he had so artfully gull'd, were permitted to shew their Heads, much less their Teeth, in those Assemblies, without an Assurance aforehand, not to question what he had no more Right to than Lucifer, or himself to the Kingdom of Heaven. I shall give but one Instance more, which will be much a propos to the Parties at present concern'd, the Dissenters: That little while Richard Cromwell trod the Stage, Mr. Baxter caress'd and flatter'd him at a scandalous Rate, as an Inheritor of his Father's Virtues, a Non-pareil of every Thing which tends to a pious, prudent, faithful Governor, in the Dedication of his Holy Commonwealth, whilst the Book it self was design'd and as exactly calculated for Usurpation as the Leviathan, with much Impudence triumphing over and trampling upon the Church and Royal Cause: And that they might be the more absolutely kept down, he propounds, as a necessary Regulation of Elections to Parliaments, that all those who by Wickedness had already forfeited their Liberties, (that is, the Cavalier

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lier Party, so wicked as to stand up for their King) may neither choose, nor be chosen. Now have we not here a just Allegation against Mr. Baxter's Abridgers, and all their Fraternity; for the same Sauce to serve our Goose as did their Gander; what their Patriarch occasionally propos'd to one Usurpation, may most reasonably be transferr'd, to support the legal Establishment against their setting up another.

But these Considerations come too late now; for if they gain their Point, (to compass which, what mean, indirect, ungentle Arts are used, we are every Day inform'd) 'twill soon appear what Reason these worthy Gentlemen had, who press'd the Occasional Bill; as on the other Side, to what Account our Fanatick Compliances, and Commonwealth Collusions will turn; how the Low-Country Fogs and Scotch Mists will thicken upon us; for a Storm was never known to rise in the North, but it reach'd the utmost of our Southern Coasts with doubled Force and Devastations, altho' 'tis scarce possible to out-do what it hath already done at Home, the Dread whereof doth so violently shock my (which yet some think too) Sanguine Temper, that 'tis with great Difficulty I am able to keep up so much of the Christian Varro, as de Ecclesia nondum desperare.

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THE HISTORY OF

Comprehension and Toleration.

MY Design, in the ensuing Pages, is to begin this Narration from that signal *Revolution*, in the 60th Year of the last *Century*, when the fore-mention'd Faction, after an Attempt of 80 Years, succeeding in their Design for 20 more, the *Goths* and *Vandals*, &c. made not greater Devastations upon primitive *Rome*, than these *unchristian Reformers* upon our *Church* and *Monarchy*: And yet, after all, were so far from establishing their darling Discipline they had continually contended for, or *Dagon-Covenant*, then set up; as to be contemptibly run down by several Broods of upstart *Setts*, themselves had spawn'd, who run away with the *Spoils* they had won, and with great Regret took out of their Hands the compleating those *Mischiefs* they affected to accomplish; which, nevertheless, were severally carry'd on with so much *arbitrary Insolence* and *Inspiration-Villainy*, as *Enthusiasm* govern'd all, no Place was left either for *Truth* or *Scripture*, sober *Sense*, or

sincere Religion, 'till the Nation, *alarm'd* thereby, resolv'd, as one Man, to secure themselves and Posterity from the Extremity of Ruin, by returning to those old *Establisments* in Church and State, which these Mens Infatuations had made them suffer so much in the *Subversion*.

Such as liv'd in those *bealing Times*, and judg'd of that great *Turn* by the outward Show, the Appearance of Things, how frankly, how generally the Royal Grace dispens'd its Pardons on the one Hand, with the thankful Acknowledgments and solemn Protestations of future Obedience on the other, concluded all former *Animosities* would expire in a *Loyal Emulation* of out-doing each other therein; tho' more experienc'd Persons, which had not only seen, but felt their self-will'd *Disposition* and implacable *Enmity*, guess'd otherwise; that all this was a Force upon their Natures; a kind of *Occasional Conformity* the Exigencies they were brought under oblig'd them unto; but that when a more favourable Opportunity occur'd, which they would move every Stone to bring about, these Dogs would certainly return to their own *Vomit* again: And so they continu'd all that Reign, one while *Fawning*, at another *Barking*, which they did very formidably, when their Party had got a Plurality in the *House of Commons*, and at the *Oxon Session* were just going to *fix* their Teeth; but the Nation being so lately and so desperately bit by them, upon the King's Appeal to his old *Friends*, they abhorr'd their Proceedings, and protected his Person and Government.

The next unhappy Prince, miserably led aside by the *Romish Superstitions*, (which too his *Exile* by the *faction's Rebellion* originally caus'd) and contrary to his first *Resolves*, designing to force them

them with a high Hand, was readily assisted therein by the *Dissenters*, who afforded him a select Pack of *Regulators*, to hunt down the *Church of England*, by decrying all Members thereof at a design'd *Election*, as the others did in their *Assemblies*.

One of the first Things our new *Revolution* resolv'd upon, was, to gratify the *Dissenters* with a *general Toleration*, the only Thing they had all along clamour'd for, and therefore, in Course, presum'd to stop all their Mouths; but *Faction* can no more forbear to clamour, than an *Ass* to *Bray*: And having got the *Liberty of the Press*, as well as of their *Conscience*, not a Term passes, (which is the *Market for Libels as well as Law*) without some slanderous *Invectives* against precedent *Governments*. All Persons, as well *Princes* as *Prelates*, ay and *Parliaments* too, as dar'd, since the *Reformation*, vigorously to stand up for our *legal Establishments* either in *Church or State*, appear'd against their *Republican-Anarchy* and *Fanatick-Infatuations*, have been loaded with such bitter *Invectives* and abominable *Lyes*, as none but the grand *Calumniator* could furnish them withal: Whilst *Rebels* and *Regecides*, *Schismaticks* and *Enthusiasts*, are their only *Saints*.

But what did most surprize all considering *Patriots*, was the mighty *Bustle* they made at every *Election of Parliament-Members*, both in *County and Corporation*, for such of their *Faction* as never liv'd in our *Church's Communion*, and, when there, would be sure to vote it down. And because the *Sacramental Test* stood in their Way, and had really excluded all *Papists* from having any Thing to do in the *Government*, these *Gentlemen*, with a more than *Jesuitical Artifice*, evade that, by a new *Distinction of Occasional*

Conformity; that is, tho' they never did before, yet, upon this Occasion, they will *communicate with our Church*, which *Judas* is suppos'd to have done with our *Saviour*; and beside the same Intention with him of betraying his Lord, there is this higher Aggravation against them; nothing less could be a Qualification for so damnable a *Treachery*. Neither doubtless would they have prostituted their Reputation so far, tho' their *Consciences* are frequently made bold with, could any other Expedient have been thought of, how to gain a *Majority* in the *House of Commons*; without which they can never go on to that so much wish'd for Work of a *thorough Reformation*; but having once gain'd that Point, they will not only free themselves, but abridge us, even of an *Occasional*, a *private Communion*; it shall then be nothing less, than as in 41, the *Popish Mass*, *Antichristian Idolatry*, with whatever other *Calumnies* a *virulent Malice*, inflam'd by a *blind Zeal* and *sacrilegious Avarice*, can suggest; and notwithstanding that *Liberty* now indulg'd them, will be no readier to tolerate us, than their *Brethren* in *Scotland* the *Episcopal Party* there.

That hereupon a Bill in Parliament should be propos'd and prosecuted by the fore-mention'd *Patriots*, against so gross a Piece of *religious Sympchophancy*, cannot seem strange; nor that the *Republican Junto*, on the other Sides, should exert the utmost of their Interest to prevent its passing; since 'twould have taken wholly away, or very much *blunted*, all the *Tools* of their *Factions* at once. But that any *Party* or *Members* of our *Church* should abet them, much more turn the *Ballance* against the most *reasonable* and *effectual Expedient* ever yet thought upon to preserve her

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Establishment, looks like a Piece of *Self-Homicide*; To be sure, goes upon a gross Mistake, to think that any Thing from the *Church* can gratify that Party without her *Revenue*; and I would gladly be inform'd by them, or either of the aforementioned, their *Church*, or *Commonwealth-Friends*, what Shadow of a Reason can be alledg'd for this their violent Stickling, but that of subverting the *Government*, *Temporal* as well as *Spiritual*? Yes, the *Right of Voting* is their *Birth-Right*, and ought to be stood up for; and yet their Friend, the noble *Peer*, declares, *That private Right must always give Place to publick Safety*, * and was accordingly put in Practice against the *Papists*. And if the *Dissenters*, instead of being serviceable to the *Government*, and its best Friends, have really acted those *Mischiefs and Treasons* the others plotted, and are as formidable by their *Factions* at Home, as those by their *Favourers* Abroad, doth it not look like *Party-taking*, to be partial in the Case? And if this had been mov'd when their *Toleration-Bill* was first upon the *Anvil*, would they not have parted with such a Trifle? For the *Right of clamouring at an Election*, without some sinister Design, what a mighty *Privilege* is it? I have heard several honest well-dispos'd Persons, who study only to be quiet, and mind their own *Business*, very heartily curse the *Fanaticks*, for rendering every Choice so troublesome: Were, say they, none to be chosen but such as we are assur'd would make no Alteration in the establish'd *Government*, the most considerable of our *Gentry* and *Freeholders*, who can best spare both *Time* and *Money*, might agree upon proper

* Lord Haversham's Speech.

proper *Persons* without any more to do; without *Cart-Loads* of *Cottagers*, and continual *Competitions*; to the Breach of *Friendship* and all good *Neighbourhood*; with an *Expence*, as *Taxes* go, more regarded than formerly; which to these *Winter Elections* in the late King *William's* Reign, so thick upon each other, much augmented, tho' resolutely waded thorough, because look'd upon as procur'd by that *restless Party* and their *Partisans*. Their *Discourse* and *Interest-making* in the *Country*, have declar'd as much in this; wherein, God be prais'd, they have not hitherto prevail'd. To go one Step farther, were their *Pretence of Conscience* any more than *Pretence*, they must think this a most reasonable *Exchange*; upon the easiest *Terms* imaginable; and be the better pleas'd with it, because borrow'd from their *Friends in the Netherlands*, whose *Government* in most other Things, they are too prone to admire, and would be imitating. For, doubtless, 'tis the greatest *Security* of their *Commonwealth*, that no *Sectaries* have to do in it, altho' we never find any there endeavour'd its *Subversion*; as ours have actually done, and, after all their plausible *Pretences*, design it again.

But the *Dissenters*, 'tis said, are much alter'd in their *Temper*, more moderate in their *Principles*, more reasonable in their *Demands*; so that 'tis only the *Stiffness* of some, whom therefore they, or rather their *Church-Friends*, think to reproach with the Character of *High-Church Men*, which obstruct a *Coalition*: All which is plausibly spoken; but, supposing such a seeming Change, may there not be more of *Art* than *Reality* in it? For *Force* and *Flattery* have been all along the two grand *Engines*, which both *Papists* and *Puritans*, with their several *Descendants*, have interchangeably

terchangeably made Use of ; and when the Roughness of the one, like the *Wind* in the *Fable*, occasion'd a more resolv'd Opposition, the other, like the *Sun's insinuating Rays*, thought by that Means to gain a more favourable Reception. Thus the former, the *Papists*, upon *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the Crown, (despairing every Day more than other of their *Fire and Faggot-Dispensations*, 'till at last they saw the thorough Establishment of a *reform'd Church*) continu'd incessantly, by *Treason and Treachery*, to re-establish their old *Superstitions*: And when by numberless Instances of an extraordinary *Providence* attending all her Motions, they despair'd of effecting any Thing during her Life. The next Project was to obstruct the *Succession*; wherein likewise failing, and their most execrable *Gun-powder-Plot* blowing up none but themselves, laying aside that *Engine* for a while, they betook themselves to the more softening Method of *Insinuation*; and finding *King James* very much affected with a *Spanish Match* for his Son, by soothing him therein, obtain'd a greater Freedom than their forward Dispositions ought to have been allow'd, as indeed it was not only his, but an unhappy Defect in most of his Family, to have their too good-natur'd *Dispositions* impos'd upon by every cunning *Intriguer*, very much to their own, and perhaps not less to the *Nation's* Prejudice. In the next Reign a *Popish Match* succeeded, tho' with another Crown, which must be attended with some *Priests*; and they busy enough, tho' altogether in the smooth tongu'd Way of *reconciling the Differences* between us. The like *Liberty* was likewise assum'd in the two Reigns after the *Restoration*, with greater Confidence and more *Connivance*, which produc'd
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everlasting *Scribbles Pro and Con*, not a little to our *Church and Nation's Distraction*, the only Thing these *Emissaries* aim'd at, and were sent for; whilst their Principals at *Rome* will no more recede one Tittle from their *Trent Articles*, than our *Fanaticks* forbear cavelling at our *Constitutions both Sacred and Civil*; who have always gone in the same Course with their *Romish Opposites*; for as they began and continu'd their *Clamours and Threats* all *Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, so was it rais'd to a *Hoot and Cry* in the two following, upon the fore-mention'd *Connivance*, or rather, *less Severity* in executing the *Laws* than formerly; altho' several *politick Reasons* were assign'd thereof, (besides the *Articles of Marriage*) of weighty Consideration: And because the *Church-Party* would not fly in the Face of *Majesty* with like *Impudence* as themselves, without either *Sense or Civility*, they must be altogether of the same *Leaven*, confederate with them in bringing in all their *Innovations*, both in *Doctrine and Worship*: And perhaps there was not one Thing which serv'd them more, in promoting the People's Infatuation and Rebellion thereupon, than their making every *such Motes in Government* to be *Beams, Mole-Hills Mountains*, 'till their pestilent Breath had blown those *Sparks* into so violent a Flame, as produc'd the many dreadful Desolations afore-mention'd. But when the *Tide turn'd*, that *Right and Justice* took Place again, and they saw what a *Noose* (had not an extraordinary Stretch of Mercy interpos'd) every one of their *Heads* might be run into, then *Unity and Peace* was their only Subject, and a *Coalition* the Desire of their Souls; which yet, according to the tedious and impertinent Account *Mr. Baxter* gives in his *Life* of that Affair, they could come to

nothing of a *Coalition* among themselves; those few he join'd withal, (being less than half a Score, with much Difficulty) accorded in their *Resolutions*; which too were mostly in *Generals*; and he owns 'twas thought dangerous to take in more, as foreseeing they should never agree. In short, *Faction* and *Discord* are so become their proper *Element*, as to be out of them, is as unnatural as *Air* to a *Fish*, or *Water* to a *Bird*. According to that Branch of the *Character* which a worthy Divine [*Farind. Ser. p. 1060.*] (turn'd out of all by their Oppression) experimentally lays down, *Silent and crafty when overpower'd, but loud and cruel when they prevail: Lambs when they list, and Lions when they can.*

Neither doth it appear to me, that their *Demands* are so reasonable as they give out, and most of our Church-Men, by their Silence, seem to acknowledge: I met with a zealous *Abettor* of the Cause, who said, the whole Dispute was *de Lana Caprina*; and the rest of them discourse and write at the same careless Rate, without ever considering to how just a *Recrimination* they expose themselves, and all their *Predecessors*. Was the Concern of no more Value than a single Hair, which caus'd the Kingdom to swim in Blood so many Years together; *Sequester'd* all loyal Gentlemen and orthodox Divines of their *Estates*, and took away many of their *Lives*; tore in sunder every Limb of our ancient Constitution; and, to perpetuate their Villainy, murder'd the King himself; and all this, *de Lana Caprina*, for a Matter of Nothing? And is it for no more they stand out still? The more Shame for them; the *Satyr* in the *Fable* would not converse with the Man who blew *Hot* and *Cold* with the same *Breath*, and have we not here the exact *Moral*?

But then, what is this *Nothing* such a Noise is made about? Indeed 'tis nothing on their Side, for they will not set one Step towards the *Church*, 'till she divests herself of her *Ceremonies*, her *Ways of Worship*, of *Discipline*, and *Government*; very inconsiderate Matters, and ought therefore to be given up: In their Esteem, perhaps, it may be so; but will they be *Judges and Parties* too? May not two or three *Quarries* be propounded on Behalf of the *Church*? As first, whether we are, or shall be, the same in *Doctrinals*? I know, indeed, they give out so, and 'tis probable will subscribe our 39 *Articles*: So much there was of *Christian Prudence* and true *Moderation* in the *Compilers*. But have they not several modern *Conceits* of their own, some of which the *ancient Church* was never acquainted with, and the rest never thought fit to impose? That they have such, and have been very forward to join them with the *Subscription of our 39 Articles*, shall be made appear in the *Sequel*. 2. Give us Leave to *quare*, whether the *Ceremonies and Discipline of our Church* are such inconsiderate Matters as to be given up; especially, since we have, 3dly, no Assurance, that in granting these, they may not make fresh Demands; altho' I cannot see what they can demand more, since, according to the *Latitude* they will certainly take and their Friends in Power give Concurrence, these *Concessions* will not be a *comprehending* them in the *Church*; but the *Church* *comprehended* in, that is, *swallow'd up* by them: The Apprehensions of which makes me reflect very often, and fear she may be now in the same Condition, as when that *incomparable Prelate and Martyr, Archbishop Laud*, lamented her on the *Scaffold*; not only beset by many Storms from without, but what is much worse, like an Oak cleft to Shivers with

with *Wedges* made out of its own *Body*; for it seems to me that *Comprehension* hath got in its *Head* already, and is now endeavouring, by several *Struglings* and *Windings*, to wriggle in as many *Limbs* or *Members* as they can of that *Heterogeneous Body*; for the whole is too monstrous to follow: And having got thus far, there is as little Doubt but they will claim their *Usurpation* by *Right*, not *Favour*, and tell you it should have been so at first, had they carry'd on the *Reformation* as it ought.

Now, upon this Consideration, these *presumptuous Allegations*, I conceive my self likewise oblig'd to look so far back as the Beginning of our *Reformation* too, the original *Institution* of our *Church* and *Family*, as it hath hitherto stood establish'd by *Law*; where, without taking Notice of these reproachful Epithets, *High-Church*, *Low-Church*, or *Whig-Church*, (which that Party, with great Affectation, have of late assum'd to themselves) any *Church*, no *Church*, or all *Churches*, for so they are now jumbl'd together; 'tis the true *Church* alone I shall enquire after, see who was the *Mother* which bore us, and what were the *Laws* she gave us; as likewise the several descending *Fathers* who instructed us therein. From hence we will step Abroad, and take a View of the two other grand *Reformations* in *Germany* and *Geneva*; and thereby discover how these eternal *Faultfinders*, tho' ours by *Birth*, as well *spiritual* as *natural*, profelyted themselves to the groundless *Novelties* of a foreign Establishment, and as is usual with all *Renegado's*, prov'd so violent and bloody therein, as to become a continu'd Pest to our *Church* and *Nation* ever since. For tho' the *Puritans*, the *Fresbyterians*, who first made the Breach, and began the War, are now a very in-

considerate Party, in Comparison to the numberless other *Sects and Factions* descended from them, and very little respected by them, yet they all *act* and *unanimously* agree upon (and 'tis in that alone there is any thing of *Unity* among them) those grand *Fundamentals of Schism and Rebellion*, their fore-mention'd *Protoplasts* or *Sires*, brought from *Geneva*, or borrow'd from their *Author*.

Let us first make a short *Abridgment* or *general View* of the *Lutheran and English Reformations*, with the profound *Deference* each of them paid to *Antiquity*, the *Catholick Practice of Primitive Christianity*, and purest *Ages of Religion*.

2. Observe how that of *Mr. Calvin*, at *Geneva*, had so little *Regard* to *Antiquity* and *Practice* of the *Primitive Times*, as it seems rather to *establish a new Religion* than *reform a corrupt Church*; which was a great *Mistake* there, and hath been as *unreasonably press'd* by their too many *Followers* among us. For I shall,

3. Observe, that our several *Species of Dissenters*, by their *factions* and *incessant Endeavours* to *establish that Reform or New Form* of *Geneva*, have been altogether as dangerous to our *Church and Government* as the *Roman Attempts*.

4. Observe, that the bringing, or breaking in of *Comprehension* upon our *Establishment*, tends directly to the *Ruin* of our *Church*; so that the *Government* (having *indulg'd* them the *Liberty* of their *own Ways* or *Consciencies*, as they will term it) ought to stand upon its *old Bottom*, and by all just Means secure it self from their farther *Encroachments* and *Mischiefs*.

We are then to begin with what *Luther* did, in order to this great Work; for to reform, is to set Things right, or bring them back to their
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original Establishment : Never was House so well built, but now and then it will need Repair; nor any *Institution, Sacred or Civil*, but in long Tract of Time it may decline from its primitive *Perfection*, become corrupt in its *Administration*, debauch'd in *Manners*, divided by *Factions*, with several such like *Distempers*, no less incident to *Bodies politick* than *natural*. And hereof the the Church of Rome is as sad an Instance as any *History* affords, in the grossest Defection from that *orthodox Doctrine* and *exemplary Piety*, for which she was so justly celebrated throughout all the Times of *Primitive Christianity*, and some while after. Indeed there was several dismal *Circumstances* conducing hereunto, more especially the barbarous *Invasions* of the *Goths, Vandals, &c.* upon the greatest Part of *Christian Europe*, whereby, as that great *Empire*, with all its *civil Sanctions*, was totally subverted; so the *Deluge* of *Ignorance* and *Superstition* consequent thereto, became no less destructive of all true *Learning* and sincere *Religion*; from whence, by Degrees, that excellent *Building of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones*, was bury'd in the *Rubbish* of their great City, and nothing but *Wood, Hay, and Stubble* rais'd thereupon; so that by Degrees, all *Spiritual Dispensations* became perverted to their *Temporal Grandure*, with such novel *Doctrines* and Ways of *Worship*, as might be most conducing thereto. Nay, the *Power of the Keys* came by Degrees to usurp that of the *Sword*; would have all *Sovereign Princes* depend upon and claim under it. And altho' this was much oppos'd and struggled against, yet the *old Vicar*, either by fomenting *Quarrels* among them, or engaging their *Subjects* to rebel against them, *Crusade Expeditions*, or the like, seldom fail'd to carry his Point. Here then

then I must take Leave to pause a little, and seriously admire (however sometimes it hath been ridiculously apply'd) the wonderful Things which God brings about by contemptible Means; when many *pious and learned Men* fail'd in their for Endeavours for a Reform of *Church Corruptions*; and no fewer great *Potentates* in retrieving their just *Rights*; a little contemptible *Fryer*, by opposing one of their *Impositions*, (tho' ill enough, yet had they many worse, and that not without some Regard to private Interest, because his Order was not employ'd to publish the *Indulgences* whereto they pretended a Right by Prescription) gave so great an *Alarm* to all *Germany*, and, from them, the rest of *Europe*, as the *Pope* was from every Hand call'd upon for a *General Council*, that the *Church*, and more especially his *Court*, might be reform'd. What Arts they us'd to evade this, how by continu'd Clamours forc'd upon it, and how cunningly they shuff'd Matters all the while it was depending, that is about 60 Years, off and on, would be too great a Digression from my design'd Subject to relate, and therefore shall only add the excellent *Historians* brief Account: That the Council, procur'd to unite the Church, hath so establish'd the Schism, and made Parties so obstinate, as the Discords are become irreconcilable; the Pope, and his Ecclesiasticks, managing Things so dexterously, as the sole Benefit accrew'd to themselves; their exorbitant Power, which as they fear'd others design'd to moderate, became thereby so establish'd and confirm'd over that Part which remain'd subject to them, that it was never so great nor soundly rooted. [Conc. of Tren. p. 2.]

But for the other Part, which had already separated, as they absolutely disown'd the *Pope's Authority* in calling a Council, so 'twas likewise thought

thought highly unreasonable, that the *Church*, to be reform'd, should sit as *Judges* in their own Case; and thereupon continu'd to promote and carry on that *Reformation*; which had got much Ground before the *Council* was call'd, or sate to any Purpose: For *Martin Luther*, who led the Van, from that of *Indulgences*, fell to study many other Points of *Papal Innovations*, and was no less forward to oppose them as such; and having stood out many Debates and Conferences with the *Pope's Nuncio's*, and many other learned Men of that Perswasion, (manag'd generally with too great Vehemency, and thereupon rather widening the Breach than otherwise) found himself not more oppos'd by them, than countenanc'd by several of the most considerable Princes in *Germany*, and many free Cities; and seeing them so Daring as to publish their *Centum Gravamina* in a Diet at *Nuremberg*, he thought fit to second them by as bold a Defiance, abolishing the old *Mass*, and setting up a new *Liturgy*, which he had been some Time in framing, to supply its Place. This was begun at *Wittemberg* 1522, and briskly follow'd by most of the Princes and Places which had abetted him. And this I take to be the first Establishment of a reform'd Protestant Church; altho' the *Protestation*, from whence that Denomination arose, was not 'till six Years after. What Assistants *Luther* had in drawing up his *Liturgy* I no where find: *Malancthon*, about that Time join'd with him, and did always continue most steady to him; and therefore if any Help, 'tis most probable from him: But whether so or not, 'tis altogether agreeable to the Practice of former Times, the *Epistles*, *Gospels*, and *Collects*, as of old; with several other Forms of Prayer, adding none of his own Composing; but when a
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Supply could not be had from them: Most of the *Holy-days* were observ'd as in former Ages, with the *Cross* in *Baptism*, *Kneeling* at the *Communion*, and many other innocent and significant *Ceremonies*, commended to the Church by most pure *Antiquity*: That they look'd upon *Episcopacy*, as a distinct *Apostolical Order*, is clear by their retaining the Thing, tho' with a different Name; the Revenue, indeed, is mostly swallow'd up by the *Mortmain* of *Sacrilege*, which the *Princes* generally conferr'd upon some of their younger *Children*, by the Title of *Administrators*; yet the *Superintendants*, (as they are term'd) having a *Priority* of Place and Power before other *Ministers*, so is there a *Maintenance* allow'd proportionable. And 'tis more probable, their administering the *Sacrament* in both Kinds was from the like *Primitive Authority*, than *John Hus's* *Calistini*, or *Sub utraq*; in the neighbouring *Bohemia*. In short, there is nothing in the whole *Establishment*, considerably exceptionable, but that uncouth Word and Doctrine of *Consubstantiation*; which whether *Luther* fram'd from something like that which they say the old *Greek Church* maintain'd; or having not weather'd the Prepossessions of a corporeal *Presence*, whilst in the *Roman Communion*, and yet his very Senses informing him, that there was no *Transmutation of the Elements*, thought thus to solve it by a *Concorporation*: I shall not resolve, indeed 'tis Pity so much was ever resolv'd in that mysterious Point; yet *Luther* was so warm and positive herein, and the Generality of his Followers continuing in the same Humour, have stood, more especially upon that Account, in a total Defiance of all other *Reform'd Churches*; and in their Heats will declare themselves more ready to fall off briskly to *Rome*, than have any

any Correspondence with them ; where, by the By, I must take Leave to observe, how grossly they mistake the *Church of England*, in fancying we disagree from them in all other Points, as the *Calvinists*, because in that of the *Sacrament* : Whereas 'tis altogether the contrary ; for as our *Liturgy* was compil'd with like Deference to *Antiquity*, so as to *Doctrinals* we are mostly the same : And this the Lord Bishop of *Sarum*, if he had pleas'd, might have let the eminent *Divine* of that *Church* he discours'd in *Germany*, [*Pref. to the Expos. of 39 Artic.*] that we differ as they do, about the same important Matters, concerning the *Attributes of God and his Providence* ; concerning the *Guilt of Sin*, whether it was to be charg'd on *God*, or the *Sinner*, and whether *Men* ought to make good Use of their *Faculties*, or trust entirely to an *irresistible Grace* ? These Matters of great Moment, *Reprobation Rigors*, *Stoical Fatalities*, *Supralapsarian*, and *Sublapsarian Cruelties*, have been as briskly bandy'd between our *English Church-men* and *Presbyterian Calvinists*, as any where Abroad, and greater Mischiefs issuing thereupon ; the more is the Pity. One Thing surprizes me, that he mention'd nothing of the *Sacrament*, (unless his Lordship's Memory fail'd him) the most, indeed, only important Controversy between them ; neither is it to be pass'd unremark'd, that if we differ'd only about *Forms of Government*, (whether *Ecclesiastical* or *Temporal*) it might not be thought an important Matter ? As to the former, surely it must be of great Importance, to know whether *Episcopacy* was not at least of *Apostolical Institution* ; and then to set up a new fangl'd *Commonwealth Hierarchy* of *Presbyter* and *Lay-Elders*, more than 1400 Years after, be not a gross *Innovation* upon one main *Essential* of the

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Church ;

Church ; but more of this in the Sequel. So likewise for the *Civil Government*, let those intrusted therewith, consider how insecure they are, if so pernicious a Principle as that fundamental one of the *Geneva Reformers* get once among them, viz. *If the supreme Power or Magistrate will not reform Church and State, the People may* : Yet, have they not most cursedly put this in Practice, where-ever they could screw themselves in, throughout all *Europe* ? But of this likewise in another Place.

But being upon this Subject, 'twould be no little Prejudice to the Memory of *Luther*, should I omit to take Notice how opposite he was to all the fore-mention'd *Principles and Practices* ; for as he vigorously oppos'd the *Pope*, made daily Progresses in discovering how his *Spiritual Superintendency* was *usurp'd* at first, and by Degrees wholly prostituted to *secular Grandure and Temporal Interest* ; so did he never begin, or carry on any *Reformation*, but by the Approbation, and with the Assistance of the *supream Civil Power*, as in *Saxony, Brandenburg, Wirtemberg, &c.* His *Disciples and Followers* continuing the same Course in *Denmark, Sweden*, and indeed all the *Northern Parts of Germany*, being rather call'd to, than forcing themselves upon the Government ; or if there were any took contrary Measures, he oppos'd them with no less Vehemency than the *Romish Party*. Indeed it cannot be expected that so great a *Revolution*, in so many several Places, should not be attended with many and great *Irregularities* ; neither shall we deny, that *Luther* might not in several Things be too *Dogmatical* ; but his Notions being generally more *orthodox*, and better grounded than those he oppos'd, his Positiveness was, in several Respects, rather beneficial.

ficial than otherwise ; considering, that as soon
 as Things came to an *Establishment*, he was not
 more threaten'd with Danger from the *Romish*
 Party, than expos'd to Trouble by those which
 join'd with him in the same Work : For being
excommunicated by the Pope, and proscrib'd by the
Emperor, his Patron, the Duke of Saxony, thought
 it consistent with both their Interests, that he
 should withdraw from *Wittemberg* into some pri-
 vate unknown Place ; during which Recess, one
Caroloſtadius, whom he had assisted before in a
 Dispute with *Eckius*, ' a bold *Romanist*, Sliden,
 ' preach'd a different *Doctrine*, and stirr'd lib. 3.
 ' up the People in a tumultuary Manner to cast
 ' the *Images* out of the *Churches* ; upon which
 ' Account *Luther* was recall'd by his Friends, and
 ' condemn'd this Act of *Caroloſtadius* ; shewing,
 ' that that was not the Way they ought to
 ' have proceeded in, but that the *Images* were
 ' first to have been remov'd out of the Mind, and
 ' the People taught, that by Faith alone we
 ' please God, and then *Images* avail'd nothing :
 ' That if they had been in this Manner remov'd,
 ' and the Minds of People rightly inform'd,
 ' there would have been no Danger from them,
 ' and they have fallen off themselves : Adding,
 ' moreover, that he was not against removing
 ' of *Images* ; but that it ought to have been done
 ' by Authority of the *Magistrate*, not by the
 ' *Rabble* and promiscuous *Multitude*.' In the mean
 while, he was likewise careful to excuse this Re-
 turn to his *Patron the Duke*, because without his
 Privy, assigning this as the principal Cause.

Caroloſtadius being thus borne down there by
 the Authority of *Luther*, forsook that Station,
 and betook himself to *Thomas Muncer*, and a
 Gang of his, who were all *Enthusiasts*, and that

in the most formidable Sense, right down *Level-*
lers; pretending, that by *Conferences with God*, he
 had commanded them to destroy all the *Wicked*, and
 to begin a new *World*, wherein the *Godly* and
 s. lib. 5. *Innocent* only should live, and have *Dominion*;
 which, by *Degrees*, was thus explain'd: That it
 was most consonant to human *Nature*, that all *Goods*
 should be common, and that without any *Distinction*
 of *Dignity* or *Quality*, be indifferently enjoin'd by all
Men. By these cursed *Inducements*, assuring
 the *Country Boors*, and *Corporation Mob*, the *Li-*
*ber*ty of other *Mens Estates*, as well as of their
 own *Consciences*, they prevail'd upon them to
 rise up in vast *Numbers*, throughout *Swabia*, *Fran-*
conia, and many other *Parts of Germany*, to the
 no little *Disturbance* of the publick *Peace*, and
 their own fatal *Ruin* in the *End*: And what a
 dismal *Havock*, *John of Leyden*, *Knipperdelling*,
 and their *Fanatick Adherents of Anabaptists*,
 made at *Munster*, none can be ignorant, who
 know any *Thing of History*. During all which
Commutations, the several *Generals* in the *Field*
 did not manage their *Swords* with more *Success*
 than *Luther's Pen*, (whereof *Sleiden*, lib. 5, gives
 us an excellent *Abridgment*) by undeniable
Authority, from *Reason* and *Scripture*, demonstra-
 ting such *Courses* to be contrary to *God*, and all
Ends of Religion whatsoever. And as this may
 well be thought no small *Inducement* for all the
Temporal Princes, to establish their *Churches* accord-
 to his *Model*, since he took so much *Care* of
 their *Safety*; so it appear'd some *Time* after,
 how much it had been *Interest* to have follow'd
 his *Advice* in a *Concern* of like *Nature*: The
Passage is the more considerable, and of great-
 er *Credit*, because from *Bodin*, a *Romanist*, not
Lutheran, nor *Friend to Luther*, otherwise than
 Truth

Truth oblig'd him: This Author, discoursing of the several *Monarchs* in *Europe* who had *Jura omnia Majestatis*, true Right of Sovereignty, would not allow the Emperor of *Germany* to be of that Number; and thereupon seems to excuse the *Princes* of *Germany*, in taking up Arms for Religion against *Charles V*; but withal, tells us, when those *Princes* consulted *Luther*, an id *Jure Divino licet*? Whether it were lawful in the Sight of God? *Ille negavit*, he resolv'd it utterly unlawful; and, setting aside his *Distinctions*, *Bodin* passes a sad Observation upon what was done against *Luther's* Advice, *Ita funestum bellum reip; publica calamitosum susceptum est cum ingenti Principium ac Civium strage, quia justa causa nulla videri potest adversus patriam arma sumendi*. And may we not take it for an extraordinary Mercy, that *Luther* dy'd just before this War was engag'd in, where his too great *Patrons*, the *Duke* of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, were both taken *Prisoners*; and the *Truths* he had so vigorously maintain'd, seem'd for some Time altogether overpower'd: How they were retriev'd, would be too great a Digression here to relate; and therefore I shall only farther observe, that if *Zwinglius*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, with the rest of their *Fellows* and *Followers*, had reform'd upon this orthodox and truly *Christian Principle*, how many Millions of *Lives*, ay, and *Souls* too, might have been sav'd from perishing in the *Gainsayings* of *Corah*.

Our *English Reformation* comes next to be consider'd; for tho' that of *Zwinglius* and *Calvin* began before us, yet, if we follow'd any *Modern Precedents*, it was *Luther* rather than them; to be sure, we went both upon the same general *Retro-spect* as to ancient *Practice*, and 'tis probable receiv'd much *Light* from their blind Sides, the many

ny Mistakes all of them ran into : Besides, ours was much longer in *Agitation* ; undertaken with more *Premeditation*, *Consult* and *Study*, than the *Precipitancy* of *Affairs*, *Heats* of *Dispute*, and tumultuary *Oppositions*, would give those other *Time* to *cool*, or *Leisure* to digest such weighty *Matters* as they ought. Therefore 'twas altogether *Prejudice* in our *Puritans* at first, to clamour and make a *Noise* that we did not follow other *Reform'd Churches* ; there was but one they would acquiesce in ; and that we took a more justifiable *Course*, the *learned Hooker* fully proves throughout his *Fourth Book*, which was solely penn'd in *Return* to that *Cavil*, and clearly evinces the *Weakness* and *Heterodoxy*, of their *Exceptions*. And I was sorry to find in the *Lord Bishop of Ely's* late *Charge*, the *foreign Divines* recommended to the *Clergy* as *Daughters* of the *Church of England* ; if design'd for no more than our *Pity* and *Prayers*, as to the many sad *Exigencies* they at present lie under, no man can be a true *Christian*, who hath not a *Fellow feeling* thereof ; but if the *Recommendation* designs an *Imitation* of, or nigher *Conformity* to them, the *Address* had better been made on the other *Side*, to shew how much they deviate from the more *orthodox Constitutions* of our *Church* ; and 'tis strange, that in a *Matter* so long and clearly debated, our rising *Dignitaries* should discover so little *Understanding* of her ; which must in *Course* produce a very *indifferent Zeal* for and *Affection* to her.

To begin then with what *Henry VIII* did : 'Twas rather a *Reformation* of the *Court* than *Church of Rome*, divesting the *Pope* of all that *Usurp'd Power*, which, as *St. Peter's Successor*, he pretended to have over all *Christian Kings* and *Princes*, in the *Western Empire* more especially ;
tho',

tho', as Occasion serves, his Claim is *universal* over the whole World. And tho' there might be something of private Affection which hurry'd him thereunto, yet the Consequences thereof seem to be *providential*, and a considerable Step to what was farther carry'd on the next *Reign*: For tho' he persever'd in those Prejudices a strict *Education* habituated him unto, and, according to the Violence of his Temper, persecuted many who dissented; yet his throwing off the *Pope's Supremacy*, and throwing out those *Regulars* who maintain'd it, oblig'd him, from *Politick Ends*, to countenance several who design'd farther *Alterations*: By which Means the *Bible* appear'd in the *English Tongue*, and some *Godly Tracts* were publish'd, which not only discover'd former *Corruptions*, but were very instructive as to the *Essentials of Christian Life and Doctrine*. And for the controversial Parts, there was a laudable Course begun then, and continu'd afterwards, which I do not find practis'd in any foreign *Reformations*, tho' it must be acknowledg'd very useful, and highly commendable: When any Thing in order to a Change, came under Debate, 'twas put into several *Questions*, and given to the *Bishops* and others of the learned *Clergy*, to study each *Point*, and deliver their Judgment therein. The *Appendix to the History of the Reformation* affords us a *Specimen* in each *Volume*, tho' the *Author* laments, that most of them must be lost by the Confusions which follow'd in Queen *Mary's Days*. There was one Thing more wherein *Henry VIII*, (tho' 'tis probable not designedly) forwarded this great Work; for suspecting that such of the *Nobility*, both *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, as had been most zealous for the *Roman Rites*, would not be so regardful of his Son

as he desir'd, some he took off, others he confin'd, and left out most of the rest from being *Executors to his Will*, and consequently must have little to do in the *Government* when the *Crown* should descend to him.

Which soon after happening, and the *Coronation Ceremonies* over, the first Thing taken into Debate was the *Settlement of Religion*; which being a very weighty Concern, and of great Difficulty in those divided Times, the Government began with a *Proclamation* against all *Popular Tumults*, and such like dangerous Innovations, in pulling down *Altars*, defacing *Images*, &c. where-to some had itching Fingers here, in Imitation of such too frequent Practices in *foreign Parts*.

Soon after, a Commission was issu'd forth, for several *Bishops* and learned *Divines* to examine all the *Officers of the Church*, and consider what Amendments were most proper; wherein they proceeded according to the fore-mention'd *Method*, of resolving every *Question*, as they found it either us'd or abus'd in *precedent Times*. The *Communion-Service* was what they first began with, as the greatest *Mystery* in the *Christian Religion*, and the most perverted from *primitive Institution*: From hence they went on to all the other Parts of *Divine Service*, as well consulting the several Uses which had been here among us, as the *Remains* of those *Antient Liturgies* which bear the Name of *Apostolical* and *Primitive Fathers*, with whatever *laudable Additions* good Men had made thereto; remarking all along such *Forgeries* as had been made subservient to *Superstitious Rites*; proceeding, I say, in this Course, they compil'd, as to the Main, those excellent *Offices* in our *Church*, with so much *Industry*, *Care*, and *Judgment*, as many justly thought them all along attended

tended with a more than ordinary Assistance of the *Divine Spirit*.

From hence they proceeded to digest several *Articles for avoiding Diversity of Opinions, and establishing of Consent touching true Religion, with certain Homilies, or Sermons, to be read in Churches.* All which having undergone the *Fiery Tryal*, with some of its *Compilers*, in *Q. Mary's Days*, were receiv'd again, and review'd upon *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the *Crown*; upon which some few Alterations were made in the *Liturgy*, (as had been before, *Ult. Edv.*) and a *Book of Articles*, with the Addition of many more *Homilies*: All these, I say, legally establish'd by an *Act of Uniformity*, and the *Queen* farther authoriz'd by another *Act*, recognizing her *Supremacy*, to assign *Commissioners* which should exercise all Manner of *Privileges and Pre-eminences* belonging to her *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, compleated the *Reformation and Establishment* of our *English Church*, in so exact a Summary of all Things pertaining to *orthodox Doctrine* and *Divine Worship*, as had the like Course been taken Abroad, they had done much better there, and less censur'd us; the whole being carry'd on with an especial Regard to the *Word of God*, the *Usages of the Primitive Church*, and general Current of the *Fathers*: And then, for *External Administration* and *Deportment*, in such Decency and Order, as kept an exact Mean between the *Pomps and Vanities* of *Romish Superstition*, and the unmannerly *Addresses of Separation Sordidness*, as our *British Divine Herbert* devoutly sings forth. *Church*.

And this we may justly apprehend to be the Reason, (tho' unthinking People urge the contrary) why our Church is so violently assaulted from each of those Opposites, because she eschews whatever Excesses on either Hand they

have run into. Such Persons as undertake to reconcile civil Differences, have been observ'd seldom to oblige either Party; and it far'd much worse with *Erasmus*, *Wicelius*, *Cassander*, *Grotius*, and some other such like peaceable Dispositions, who undertook the same Way of Mediation upon a *Religious Account*; and when a whole Body, so considerable a *Vessel* as our *Church*, undertake to steer a steady even Course between two such formidable *Rocks*, 'tis much if neither this *Scylla* nor that *Carybdis* draw her into their wide and deep *Gulphs*. Yet this Satisfaction God hath blest'd us withal, that tho' we have not the most, yet we have the best, and best esteem'd from either of them. The *Romanists*, tho' their Charity is most scandalously swallow'd up by Self-Love, yet seem to fear, and that many of them in the best Sense, to revere us more than all the rest, as well knowing how regularly we are fix'd upon that *Apostolical Foundation* from which they have so reproachfully swerv'd; in Confirmation whereof, I shall here mention the Observation of that judicious Author, in his *Europa Speculum*. 'But of all Places, their Desire and Attempt to recover *England*, have been always and still are the strongest; which altho' in their more sober Moods some of them will acknowledge to have been the only Nation that took the right Way of Justifiable Reformation, in Comparison of others who have run headlong rather to a tumultuous Innovation, so they conceive; whereas that Reformation which had been in *England*, was brought in by a peaceable and orderly proceeding, by general Consent of the Realm, representatively assembled in Parliament, a great Part of their own Clergy according and conforming thereunto. No *Luther*, No *Calvin*, the

' the Square of our Faith. The Succession of Bi-
 ' shops, and Vocation of Ministers continu'd, the
 ' Dignity and State of the Clergy preserv'd, the
 ' more ancient Usages of the Church not can-
 ' cel'd: In some, no Humor of affecting Con-
 ' trariety, but a charitable Endeavour rather of
 ' Conformity with the Church of Rome, in what-
 ' soever they might; not gainsaying to the ex-
 ' press Law of God, which is the only Way of
 ' meet Reformati^ons, thereby the fitter to be an
 ' Umpire to the rest. Of all Places in the World,
 ' they desire most to recover this, making full
 ' Account that the rest would soon follow. But
 ' to as high a Tide as they are risen in their
 ' Desires hereof, to as low an Ebb are they fall'n
 ' in their Hopes, being less now, I perceive,
 ' than ever; having seen her Majesty so often
 ' and so miraculously preserv'd, their Treasons
 ' discover'd, their Excommunications vanish'd, their
 ' Armies defeated, their Books answer'd, and chief
 ' Champion discourag'd. Thus far this worthy
 Gentleman, Mr. *Saunders*, both as to their Judgment
 of us, and their Designs against us, with the hap-
 py Success of the then excellent Queen, in a tho-
 rough Disappointment of them all. And as her
 late Majesty did at first resume the same Motto,
 so God granted her a Will to persevere in the same
 undaunted Resolution; otherwise it would have been
 found impossible to quell them, or those seeming
 Opposites of theirs, which yet exactly agree with
 them in the like implacable Spirit and destructive
 Enterprizes.

I am next to take Notice, how foreign Protestants
 stood affected to us, and of what Quality they
 were who paid greatest Respect to our Church
 and Reformation; but in order thereunto, I must
 take Leave to observe, that our learned Men, when
 that great Work was undertaken, apply'd their

Studies two different Ways; some look'd back (as I have all along hinted) to the *original Institutions* in the first and purest Ages of Religion; and thought by *rubbing off* and *cleansing* the main *Trunk* and *Branches* from that *Moss*, that *Filth* and *Corruption*, which either Length of Time, the Sloth of some, or Self-Interest in others, had suffer'd to gather and grow upon it, the readiest Way to have her once more appear in *primitive Perfection*. Others, finding those Abroad had taken a shorter Course, resolv'd to steer the same, and gave themselves up to such *Systems of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship*, as they found there a-bridg'd to their Hands, without the Trouble of examining how they agreed with the *Analogy of Faith*, or *Authority of the Ancients*: Now the former of these were all along the *principal Restorers* and chief *Pillars* of our Church, tho' the other frequently got in, to her no little Prejudice; for such *Lecturing Divines* and *Popular Prelates*, by neglecting that Order and Discipline they had in Charge, and countenancing others of the same *Kidney*, caus'd all that *Disrespect*, *Slander*, and *Reproach*, which their worthier Brethren were laden with, and in the End *sunk under*. For to this Pass they brought us by Degrees, every true Church-man was infallibly tending to Popery, when they who laid the Charge were all that while doing their *Business*. And whether we are not acting the same Part over again, in the *Reproach of High-Church*, there is more Reason to fear than disbelieve? Now, if we look Abroad, all the learned Men of the former Rank paid generally a profound Deference to our *Reformation*; whereof Dr. Durel, in his *Vindicia. Eccl. Angl.* gives irrefragable Instances

ces; nay even Calvin and Beza, with those worthy Helvetic Divines which were so obliging to our Exiles, whilst among them, were generally impos'd upon by false or partial Relations; and therefore, when rightly inform'd, by a true State of the Case, and Reasonableness of the Thing, seem'd at leastwise to 'quiesce; tho', if otherwise, their Prejudices ought not to be our Precedents. In the mean Time with me, such an Authority as the learned and judicious Causabon, shall weigh more than a thousand of their impertinent Allegations. *Is. Causabon, Epist. ad Saln.* Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia, ubi cum studio Veritatis viget studium Antiquitatis. As likewise that excellent Scotch Divine, as well for Temper as Learning, Dr. Forbes, who terms ours, *Omnium Reformationum reformatissimam.*

And *Inftar Omnium* the admirable Grotius, *Grot. Epist. ad Voet.* who declares with a Certum est mihi, *Liturgi- am Anglicanam, item morem imponendi Adolescentibus in memoriam Baptismi, Autoritatem Episcoporum, Presbyteria ex solis Pastoribus composita, multaq; alia ejusmodi, satis congruere institutis vetustioris Ecclesiae, a quibus in Gallia & Belgio recessum negare non possumus.* Neither can I omit the Judgment of a noble French Peer, afterwards Duke of Sully, and Lord High Treasurer, who coming Embassador to King James from Henry IV, and having seen the solemn Celebration of our Service at Canterbury, and in his Majesty's Royal Chapel, did often publickly declare, that if the Reform'd Churches of France had kept the same Orders as here in England, he was assur'd there would have been many thousand Protestants in France more than were at that Time. I might swell my Discourse with Authorities of this Kind, from Persons of such profound Learning and un-
byass'd

byas'd Judgments, as there can be no Exception
 against them ; yet will it be but as charming a
deaf Adder, to the fore-mention'd *Systematical Stu-*
dents, who sucking in so many Prejudices with
 their *Covenant-Milk* and *Presbyterian Pap*, and
 nurtur'd up from them in a continu'd Spirit of
Contradiction, think it down-right *Popery* to look
 beyond *John Calvin*, and a venerable Esteem for
Antiquity the Mark of the Beast ; in Confirmation
 whereof, give me Leave to mention a Passage in
 the *Appendix to the Friendly-Debate*, taken from
 the Life of Mr. *Bernard Gilpin*, that worthy
Northern Apostle, as some justly term'd him : He
 liv'd in the Beginning of Reformation, and had an
 high Esteem in all those Parts for his *Learning,*
Preaching, and Piety ; upon which Accounts, I pre-
 sume, it was a Person of some Reputation amongst
 the *Puritans*, dealt very earnestly with him a-
 bout their *Discipline* and new *Models of Reforma-*
tion, when they came forth : But M. *Gilpin's* Answer
 was, ' He would not allow that any human Invention
 ' should take Place in the Church, instead of a Divine
 ' Institution. How, said the other, do you think
 ' this Form of Discipline an human Institution ?
 ' I am, said Mr. *Gilpin*, altogether of that Mind ;
 ' and as many as turn over the *Fathers*, will be of my
 ' Opinion. O, but the later Men see many
 ' Things which the *Fathers* saw not, reply'd the
 ' *Disciplinarian* ; and the present Church seems
 ' better provided of many ingenious and industri-
 ' ous Men : At which Mr. *Gilpen* seem'd somewhat
 ' mov'd, and answer'd, I, for my Part, do not hold the
 ' *Virtues of the later Men* to be compar'd with the In-
 ' firmities of the *Fathers*. Which Words he us'd
 ' on Purpoise, as desirous to root out that strong
 ' Conceit he perceiv'd the young Man had of his
 ' own Parts and Party.' This Passage is cited in
 the

the *Appendix*, to shew what Opinion, in those early Times, the most knowing Men had of the *Jus Divinum* of *Episcopacy*; But is a general Evidence upon what *Principles* our first *Reformers* went; and all that reform from them, design nothing less than *Deformation*; which will sufficiently be made appear, in a Prosecution of this History, with all convenient Speed.

F I N I S.



